

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 08111 092346Z
ACTION NODS-00

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T SECTO 8111

NODIS CHEROKEE

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI FROM THE
SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT FOR CHRISTOPHER AND TARNOFF ONLY FROM THE SECRETARY

1. I ARRIVED IN JERUSALEM TODAY IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF TENSION
HEIGHTENED BY REPORTS ON YESTERDAY'S STORIES FROM OUR PRESS
PARTY IN TAIF AND FROM PLAINS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHANGE
IN THE PLO'S POSITION THAT MIGHT PERMIT OUR TALKING TO THEM.
MANY COMMENTATORS ALLEGED THAT WE WERE BREAKING COMMITMENTS
MADE UNDER SINAI II AND WERE MOVING FORWARD WITHOUT ADEQUATE
CONSULTATIONS WITH ISRAEL. UPON LEAVING SAUDI ARABIA TODAY,
I HAD REPEATED THAT PLO ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242, IN OUR
VIEW, WOULD NEGATE THE OBJECTIONABLE TERMS OF THE PALESTINIAN
COVENANT WHICH CALLS FOR ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION.

2. I MET BRIEFLY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN, AND SET THE
RECORD STRAIGHT ON OUR TERMS FOR TALKING TO THE PLO: THEY MUST
ACCEPT 242, WITH THE EXPLICIT UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS REFERS
TO THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING ISRAEL,
TO EXIST, BUT THEY COULD RESERVE THEIR POSITION ON THE PALES-
TINIAN QUESTION. I TOLD HIM THAT OUR TALKING TO THE PLO DID
NOT MEAN THAT WE WOULD INSIST THAT THEY BE AT GENEVA, AND THAT
WE WOULD BE CONSULTING WITH ISRAEL BEFORE MAKING ANY SUCH
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RECOMMENDATION. IN ANY EVENT, THE ORIGINAL PARTIES THEMSELVES
WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO ANY ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA.
I AGREED THAT QUESTION WAS COVERED BY A PARAGRAPH IN THE 1973
MEMO OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE US AND ISRAEL.

3. IN MY 1-1/2 HOUR MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND
HIS SIZEABLE NEGOTIATING TEAM, I REVIEWED THE RESULTS OF MY

TALKS WITH THE ARAB LEADERS. I TOLD HIM OF THEIR REACTION TO HIS PROPOSALS; TO THE ALTERNATIVES FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION; TO THE 5 PRINCIPLES; AND I DISCUSSED THE CONCEPT OF DRAFT TREATIES IN MY TALKS IN NEW YORK WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS IN SEPTEMBER.

4. BEGIN TERMED THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE ARABS OF THE TERM "PEACE TREATIES" TO BE AN "IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT", AND PROCEEDED TO REPEAT HIS RATHER LEGALISTIC CONCEPT OF WHAT THIS IMPLIED.

5. HE THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF THE PLO, READING TO ME FROM THEIR COVENANT AND EMOTIONALLY STATING THAT OUR WILLINGNESS TO DEAL WITH SUCH AN ORGANIZATION WAS "ONE OF THE MOST REGRETTABLE DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE MORAL POINT OF VIEW." HE THEN READ TO ME FROM AGREEMENTS MADE IN DECEMBER 1973 AND SEPTEMBER 1975 CONCERNING THE PLO AT GENEVA AND NO AMENDMENT OF RESOLUTION OF 242. HE ENDED BY SAYING: "WE WILL NOT, WE CANNOT, WE CAN'T AND WE SHOULDN'T GIVE OUR ACCEPTANCE TO THE PLO AT GENEVA."

6. I INFORMED HIM THAT WE HAD NO INTENTION OF SUPPORTING AN AMENDMENT OF 242, NOR WERE WE IN ANY WAY VIOLATING OUR PROMISE IN THE 1973 AGREEMENT THAT ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA WOULD COME ONLY WITH THE CONSENT OF ALL THE PARTIES. I READ TO HIM THE SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE RELEVANT DOCUMENTS. I
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POINTED OUT THAT WE WERE ONLY CONCERNED NOW WITH THE COMMENTMENT WE HAD GIVEN NOT TO TALK TO THE PLO UNLESS CERTAIN CONDITIONS WERE MET. WE BELIEVED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF 242, WITH A RESERVATION ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION AND THE FAILURE TO MAKE REFERENCE TO A HOMELAND, WOULD MEET THAT CONDITION, AND WOULD NEGATE THE PROVISIONS OF THE COVENANT THAT ATTACKS THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST. BEGIN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS MIGHT BE OUR INTERPRETATION, BUT THAT THE PLO HAD GIVEN US INDICATIONS THAT ACCEPTANCE OF 242 WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE COVENANT.

7. IN CLOSING, BEGIN BRIEFLY REPEATED HIS OBJECTION TO A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION, AND ASSURED ME THAT FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN WILL BE COMING TO NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER AND WILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS ALL ISSUES.

8. WE WILL MEET AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING, STARTING WITH A PRIVATE MEETING WITH BEGIN AND FURTHER SESSIONS WITH HIM AND HIS COLLEAGUES. I WILL ALSO BE MEETING WITH YADIN, PERES, AND DAYAN AND THEN DINING PRIVATELY WITH DAYAN.
VANCE

SECRET

NNN

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